137 are not burned down so regularly, and Urundi is not as completely treeless as Ruanda because next to each kraal a few fig trees are maintained for the use of their bark. Also, [5] the larger rivers, such as the Ruvuvu or the Malagarasi, are bordered for some stretches with a rather dense forest on the banks (Plate 5). The great majority of the valleys, however, is swampy and filled with dense papyrus thickets which can be penetrated only in a few places (Plate 2a). While in our part of the world valleys are the natural arteries of traffic and the most suitable places for settlement, they can never serve this purpose in most of Urundi. The swamp covered valleys and
• [361] their often very steep slopes force the population and their roads and settlements to the upland plateaus and upper slopes. For this reason all farmsteads are on mountain ridges and the higher slopes of the valleys. In the valleys the only fields are of crops
[241] that, like sweet potatoes, need considerable moisture. This character of the valleys will make it extremely difficult to open up the country by means of roads or even railroads. The papyrus swamps are, next to the grassy hills across which one can see for miles, the most characteristic feature in the landscape of Urundi, as well as of Uha and Ruanda, that is, of most of the interlacustrine region.

Richard Kandt, the poet among the travelers to East Africa, devotes the following impressionistic description to them.

"From the time we entered the region of Urundi and also during the last days in Uha, papyrus swamps formed the characteristic feature of the landscape. Often streams hardly more than two meters wide lie in a valley of papyrus several hundred meters wide. It fills not only the main valleys but extends also into all tributary valleys and even climbs up the ravines and gorges so that, seen from a height, the country looks like a gigantic network of green ribbons in whose meshes the mountains lie like islands. I have seen many a strange and beautiful landscape in Africa. I have experienced the indescribable melancholy hovering over burned, trembling-hot steppes when the rays of the sinking sun, in a bloody red, break through the glittering haze. In the territory of the Congo State I have tasted

000 rule of the Batussi, liberate the Bahutu from the yoke of the Batussi, and win them over to our civilizing aims which are, at the same time, in their very own interest.

181 In conclusion, I shall cite a very acute judgment of the Barundi in general by R. Kandt: "The Warundi, it is true, are as cowardly as the Wanjaruanda but -- being in any case more lively and intelligent -- they are also more boastful and impertinent. In those days I never rid myself of the impression that all these histrionics, these war games, etc., were the expression of real street Arab mentality. For this reason I also believe that it will be more difficult to bring about a satisfactory state of affairs in Urundi than in Ruanda. Nevertheless, we shall never have such difficulties with either of them as might necessitate the far-reaching and dangerous defensive operations which were conducted in Uhehe, for example. These peoples, emasculated by centuries of bondage, do not know - and this is good -- what latent power lies dormant in the bodies of innumerable millions, and, lacking any deeper national consciousness, they will be the convenient tools of an intelligent colonization based on a knowledge of the country and language. They will never conceive of banding together in a united defense against foreign invasion. To arouse them from this slumber and to goad them into a united defiance of the Europeans would require such brutal clumsiness on the part of the administrators that probably none of us or our grandchildren need be afraid of experiencing the horror of it." (No. 22, pp. 325-326.)

[17] Chapter 2

Settlement, Dwellings, Food

361 In Urundi and Ruanda the surface character of the country, the form and type of its plateaus, hills, mountains, and valleys, determine the form and location of the settlements.

133 By far the largest part of the country is a tableland which
961 powerful erosion has dissected into innumerable long and short ridges with flattened tops and chains of hills with frequently deep and rather steep valley escarpments. The majority of the valleys are filled by papyrus swamps which can only be crossed in a few places. Hence it is not the valleys, as in our part of the world, but the high places that provide the most suitable settlement sites. The marshes in the valley bottoms, the hot stagnant air in the lowlands, the myriads of mosquitoes and gnats, and the valley slopes which in many places are very steep cause the people with their roads and settlements to resort to the free, airy plateaus and hill tops, while in most valleys the only fields are of such crops as require much moisture. In most areas of Urundi and Ruanda the valleys serve not to unite people but to separate them. In both regions the division of the people and the state into small communities is, therefore, determined by natural causes (see p. 89). For this reason also, the future opening up of the country by means of roads or railroads is rendered unusually difficult. The valleys in many parts of the eastern drier quartzite regions are much less swampy and less steep. There also, the surfaces of the plateau ridges and of the hill ranges are everywhere so stony and sterile due to weathered quartzite fragments (see Plate 2b) that the people avoid the high land and prefer to settle on the sides of valleys where the springs break out below the crevassed quartzite on the upper line of stratification of the almost impermeable argillite and where the argillaceous residual soil is more fertile and easier to till than the quartzite lying above.

This natural diversity among the areas is in itself an ex-
161 planation of why the population is rather unevenly distributed over the country.

The government estimates the number of natives in Urundi at one and a half to two million ("Die deutschen Schutzgebiete 1912-13," Amtliche Jahresberichte ["The German Protectorates 1912-13," Official Annual Reports], pp. 8-9). This large margin is an indication that official censuses in the individual areas have so far not been possible. Both here and in Ruanda only the drawing up of tax registers will some day

quartzite areas adjoining to the east, the latter are the more sterile and, for this reason, less populated and cultivated. [19] One observes the same phenomenon in Ruanda. In the more humid areas where bananas are grown, the banana plantations cover large areas and thus give the illusion of a relatively dense population, whereas in fact only a few huts are to be found in them.

The Batussi and Bahutu families are rather rich in children, as in Ruanda. Individually the Batussi women are less fertile than the Bahutu women, but in general there are seldom fewer than three children in each family and in many cases (among the Bahutu) between six and eight and correspondingly more if the husband has several wives. Usually each married couple lives with its children in a single hut. However, if there are many children or several wives, each mother lives in a separate hut with her youngest children. Grandparents and unmarried adults also have huts to themselves. Thus, there are often between two and four residential huts and several huts for grain and cattle in one kraal, or several fenced-in residential huts plus outhouses are combined in one large homestead (see Fig. 1).

The settlement pattern is that of individual establishments, the fenced-in kraal, hamlet, courtyard (lugo, urugo). Each homestead stands alone, surrounded by its fig trees and its banana plantation if it is in the banana region (Plates 18, 21b). In most cases, however, there are several kraals belonging to the extended family circle, situated next to each other within calling distance so that village-like clusters (ikisagara) are formed (see Fig. 2 and Plate 19a). Outside extend the fields. Of course, this is especially true for the settlements of the Bahutu, for among the Batussi only the poorest and lowest classes cultivate the fields. The kraals or clusters of kraals belonging to the more prosperous Batussi are scattered over the grassy pastures used by their cattle and surrounded by high hedges of euphorbia and fig trees without banana groves or fields. The distances between kraal clusters

361 and villages differ considerably depending on the quality of the soil. In the densely populated western districts one passes a cluster of homesteads every quarter or half hour, but in the thinly populated eastern districts one sometimes travels over an hour without seeing or passing a courtyard or a village.

363 One never sees many people outside, neither on the roads, near the grazing cattle, nor in the fields. Only close to the huts and within the kraals does one see people walking, standing, and squatting in groups. Old people 70 years old and older 145 are extremely rare. Very few seem to live beyond the age of 60, and this seems to be more often the case with the Batussi than with the Bahutu.

161 According to missionaries' reports, the population has been increasing during the last ten years or so, since the petty wars between the batwale and the princes and the invasions of the Banjaruanda and the Baha [Ha] have become rarer and less bloody. Only in the Tanganyika region which has been hit by 164 sleeping sickness has the population decreased considerably. 731 In the rest of Urundi the number of inhabitants is occasionally reduced considerably by smallpox epidemics or by crop failures, which are especially fatal to children, but such famines are relatively rare. In 1892, 1896, 1904-5 and 1908, rinderpest, bad harvests, and smallpox caused great devastations. In 1910 the distress resulting from drought in eastern Urundi was so great that the mission at Mujaga had to buy up large amounts of manioc and beans in Uha for their natives. Some travelers 181 claim that the majority of the Bahutu are waiting to be liberated from their conquerors. I cannot confirm this from my observations. [20] [Fig. 2 appears here in original text.] [21] The enthusiastic reception that the Bahutu gave at the time to the first European arriving there, Oskar Baumann in Urundi and Count Götzen in Ruanda, did indeed spring from the traditional hope for a great new conqueror who would usher in a golden age, but like all East African Bantu the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda do not in the least thirst for freedom. As has been mentioned above, they are submissive and dependent on others; they are happiest under firm authority and as accustomed to the discipline of their

[Text continues on page 31]

2: Meyer--30A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

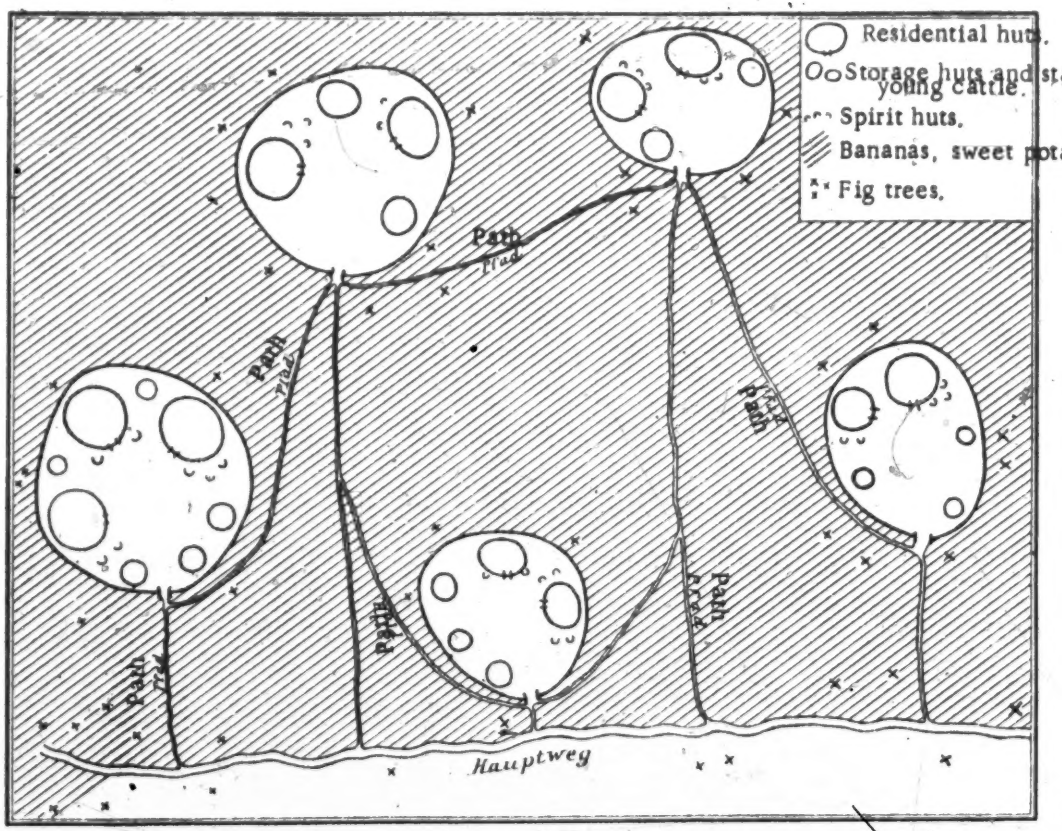

Fig. 2. Barundi Village. (Sketch by Hans Meyer.)

181 Batussi masters as they formerly were to the scarcely more lenient rule of their Bantu chiefs. When one comes from Ruanda which is governed on a rigid monarchical basis, one is astonished at how much freer, happier, and noisier, but also with how much less discipline the Barundi live and behave under their Batussi batwale than in Ruanda.

361 221 233 Predominantly agriculturists and breeders of small cattle, the Bahutu are completely sedentary. The Batussi, who own all the big cattle, also have permanent dwellings, but during the dry months they engage in a kind of alpine farming with their herds of cattle in the fresher pastures of the mountains, as though in memory of their former life as nomads. This will be described in more detail later in our discussion of stock farming (see p.40).

342 The residential huts (insu) of the Barundi differ essentially neither in form nor in structure, technique or material, from those of the Banjaruanda. Externally they are usually somewhat flatter than the huts in Ruanda; they have the shape of an umbrella rather than a beehive. Yet both in Urundi and Ruanda the crinoline-like frame is bound together by means of wooden poles or, wherever there is bamboo, by means of bamboo poles, the empty spaces between them being filled with vertical and horizontal layers of sorghum stalks. The superimposed, flat, hemispherical roof is not supported by a single pole in the center, but by a number of them evenly distributed in the hut. The entire frame is covered down to the ground with straw of tall grass (sedge, not reeds), and in some regions with dry banana leaves. As a protection against rain, a stick with a wisp of straw which spreads out at the bottom is fastened at the point of the roof. The opening for the door with the somewhat protruding door roof resembles that of the Ruanda house, but its side walls are interwoven less carefully than those of the Ruanda house. The door opening is closed by a coarsely plaited screen, kept in place by a stick propped against it. Except for the single door, there is no opening in the entire structure (Plate 18). Thus, the smoke must escape through the door. The entire hut can be lifted by several men and shifted to a

364 they exist, make it their business to remove the worst. Accord-
356 ing to the descriptions of most travelers, cleanliness and care
342 in the construction of huts and farmsteads seem to be least in north and northeast Urundi. Personally, however, on my journey across central Urundi I found the most beautiful settlements in the west and the dirtiest and worst constructed in the east. Von Trotha, for instance, says of northeast Urundi: "The indifference of the people toward cleanliness and careful construction of houses is incredible. Only the chiefs have well-built dwellings, and in the environs of their houses dirt is not yet piled up like a fortress as is the case among their subjects" (No. 8, p. 62).

356 When the hut becomes old and dilapidated, it is repaired, but even so it hardly ever lasts longer than five or six years. After that time it has to be completely rebuilt. After the owner's
429 death the widow or unmarried children continue to live in it, and after the family has been dissolved, the house is torn down.

592 Since each farmstead may include up to six or eight residential huts, depending on the prosperity of the owner and
361 how many wives he has, and since a cluster of kraals or a village often contains four, six, or more kraals, a village may shelter up to 60, 80, and more people. Usually the settlements are smaller, although in banana-growing regions the wide expanse of banana plantations, among which the kraals of the Bahutu are hidden, may create the impression that the villages or clusters of homesteads are much larger.

556 Rich people and the Batussi lords, however, are not con-
592 tent with a single kraal including several huts. They build several kraals adjoining each other so that it is possible to pass
342 directly from one to another. The front hut serves as a living and reception room for the master of the house and also as a shelter for the cattle at night; the center huts are for the women and children; and the rear hut is for the servants and is used as a kitchen and storage place, the cooking place, etc. (see Fig. 1). For the rest, the huts and homesteads of the lords, princes, or even of the king scarcely differ from those of the common Batussi and of the "better" Bahutu, either in their furnishings or in their cleanliness; they are merely larger than the latter.

351 disappeared. Yet, I did not find any trees at all at the resi-
[248] dence of the great chief Kilima (see pp. 162, 188 [these pages not translated]) in northwest Urundi. Four large round kraals are situated there on an open round mountain top at an altitude of 2,150 meters, affording a wonderful view of the neighboring deep valleys and long mountain chains. Each kraal is surrounded
[417] by a thick bamboo palisade, twice as high as a man, enclosing six to eight spacious round huts. There is no tree, green fence pole, or even a banana leaf anywhere near it. The entire complex stands on the commanding steep mountain top, like a fort built for defense.

361 In other parts of the border districts adjoining Ruanda, the houses are sometimes crowded together into whole villages surrounded by strong protective fences. Indeed, Captain Bethe even found "a large city of natives, a compact community living together" (Deutsches Kolonialblatt [German Colonial Journal, 1899, p. 9) in Iwusome on Lake Rugwero in northeastern Urundi. However, these are exceptions to the general practice of living in individual kraals and occur only in a few exposed border regions.

354 The fireplace (isiko) is usually in the main center room of the hut. I intentionally do not use the word "hearth," for usually it consists of a few stones which may be pushed together on a round platform of pounded clay in such a way that a fire may be built in the center and a cooking pot placed on top. Sometimes also, the fire is placed on a thick round plate of fired clay in the same manner as in Ruanda; its periphery is raised in the form of a roll to prevent the fire from being scattered.
372 When the embers cease to glow, which is very seldom, fire is obtained from one's neighbor. On long travels, however, fire is made in the well-known manner of the Bantu, when wood is available, by twirling a hard piece of wood on a soft one; otherwise, a glowing piece of coal is tied up in a bundle of slightly wet grass and carried along. In this manner they carry embers with them on journeys lasting several days.

Yet since firewood is often very scarce in a country almost destitute of trees and bushes, cakes of cattle dung dried in the sun are used for fuel or, wherever there are no cattle or only a few, papyrus or reed rootstocks are collected in the swampy valleys.

643
423
631 As in Ruanda and the other Bahima states, from Unjoro in the north to Ufipa in the south (No. 47, p. 74), all the land, people, and cattle in Urundi belong to the king on the basis of his inherited right as conqueror. He distributes the land among the members of his family and his clan, the Baganwa, as a hereditary fief. He may reclaim it, however, if at any time he is dissatisfied with the holder. These grand vassals or grand batwale again subdivide their territory in many small fiefs among their followers, and these continue the process so that the entire country is covered by a gigantic network of vassals of the king (see p. 171 [not translated]). They are predominantly Batussi, and the lowest among them have approximately the position of a village mayor. The smallest territorial unit of this large administrative organization is the
● [361] mountain, the plateau ridge (umutumba, umurambi). In the highlands which are cut up by swampy valleys, the mountains bear the settlements, not the valleys. For this reason the boundaries of the provinces and their subdivisions are formed almost everywhere by the stream and river valleys, the most obvious and most effective natural lines of separation between the regions and their inhabitants. However, the large fiefs seldom consist of one continuous stretch of land within a region; almost always they are formed by numerous smaller pieces of territory distributed over various provinces. Thus, the important vassals are prevented from becoming too powerful for the king.

Of course, all vassals are expected to pay a certain amount of tribute to the king. From these the latter meets the expenses of his large household, pays his officials, and conducts his wars. Depending on the duties involved, there are three kinds of feudal tenure. 1) Land fiefs: their holders have to pay regularly a certain share of the produce of their fields to the king. 2) Cattle fiefs: the tenants monthly furnish a certain number of cattle, milk, and butter. 3) War fiefs: the holders must keep ready for action a certain number of warriors who must be placed at the king's disposal upon his command. Sometimes these three types of feudal tenure are combined in one region and in the

2: Meyer--253 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 19

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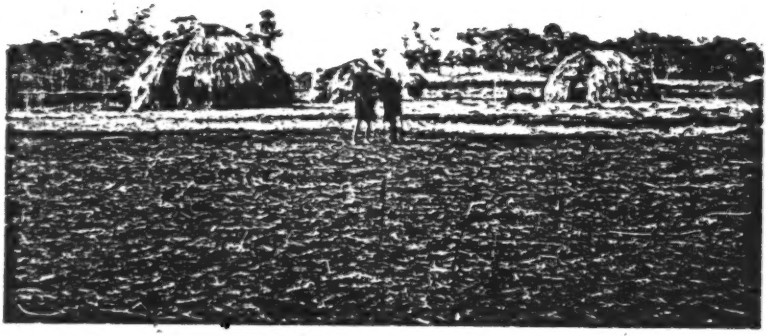
Barundi Village near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)



Barundi Homestead East of the Muwarasi River, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--254 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 20

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Village with Euphorbia Fence in the Hyphaene Steppe
of the Lower Ruzizi River
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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137

Euphorbia Hedges to Protect the Fields, near Mugera
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. [417] Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi
439 different from most African countries: neither had it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the [177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other popula- [534] tions; as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little import-
226 ance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

178 changes completely. Speculation is gaining ground.
177 Certain cultures are spreading rapidly (cassava, which
[241] grows all the year round and so excludes the threat of famine ; coffee which yields a profit in cash, and helps to pay the tax-collector).

178 Finally, some house-groups have appeared of a type,
177 closer perhaps to town than to village, in the neighbourhood of *bomas* (colonial administration centres)
361 or markets. Their inhabitants it is true are mostly
563 foreigners : Belgian officials, European traders (Greeks), Hindus and Arabs, *basuahili* (Islamized negroes). It remains however that they are an entirely new feature in a country with such a widely dispersed population.

Conclusions

361 I thought I could draw your attention to some
571 details of the curious Urundi organization : a dense population, widely dispersed over the cultivable and habitable land according to the geographic possibilities, without any orientation centres (the few habitations of the chiefs cannot be said to produce anything like demographic concentration) ; the small part played by neighbourhood relations, the predominance of intricate, but personal ties, creating man-to-man dependance, or in other words the primacy of the vertical over the horizontal relationships.

Such an organization was possible in a country almost completely closed to foreign influence, without either markets or money, with a hierarchical structure and must be related to conditions both ethnographical and geographical. This organization is
[177 giving way under the influence of European ad-
178] ministration, of the development of trade, and of a new economy based more and more upon monetary transactions.

[p. 16 (B)]

233 In the course of time they have managed to spread around them this fever for owning cattle. Any Muhutu /singular of Bahutu/ considers himself fortunate if he comes to own a cow. One wonders if it might not be the Batutsi who brought cattle into Ruanda. It is certain that their beeves are distinguished from the others by the length of their horns, which sometimes measure up to one meter, and that they are quite similar to the cows drawn on Egyptian monuments.

The hypothesis according to which the Batutsi originated in the land of the Pharaohs does not fail to take this fact into account.

One must agree that the Batutsi know a lot about raising cattle. They are familiar with a good number of its diseases and the treatment they require. When one sees the care they give to their cows, one is tempted to believe that they have retained some of the religious veneration which their possible ancestors lavished on the Apis bull.

They cannot bear to see their animals mishandled. Rather than kill one, they will let a sick beast fall to the ground, or a senile one die a natural death.

237 The dung of these animals, which trained servants collect every morning, is carefully deposited by hand outside the ficus-tree [351] enclosure and in time forms an odorous forewall around a large and frequently swept square. /32/ Even their urine is used to rinse the [366] wooden vessels in which milk is stored. Needless to say that in contact with the acid the white liquid acquires a flavor which is not to everyone's taste and turns sour within a short time.

241 The Bahutu are cultivators first and foremost. They make up the bulk of the population, at least eight tenths of it. While the 563 Batutsi, who subsist exclusively on the raising of cattle, settle near ● 361 pastures, preferably on the highlands, on plateaus, and at the edge of the forest, the Bahutu settle in places where it is possible to cultivate the land, especially in the midst of their banana groves when they own some.

224 They climb trees like squirrels to escape danger or to be on the lookout.
[48] They may spend a week or even two without returning home when tracking game, especially if an elephant is at stake. The wooded area is their domain. They know its thickets and crannies, and they track animals everywhere, stealthily through thorns and scrub, without ever running the risk of getting lost.

361 Pygmies live in groups of six or seven families scattered through
423 the forest, which they have divided up like family property by settling their respective boundaries so as not to get in each other's way.

578 Hunting in a forbidden zone or even in a contested one has given rise to more than one bloody quarrel among brothers and friends.

There are hardly 15 of such groups of Negrillo hunters, who would find it hard to subsist if meat were their only food.

311 Willfully set fires for clearing purposes which have impoverished the forested land, as well as new political conditions which are gradually transforming the society, contribute to the dwindling of their food resources.

Soon, therefore, we may see the last representatives of those woodsmen join their other compatriots, the potters scattered through the Bahutu villages, or else start farming as some of them are already doing.

563 The Batwa live as a group apart. They do not mix with the Bahutu and much less with the Batutsi. They are a despised caste.

631 Ruanda was not politically united from the beginning. In the following pages we shall see that it was parceled /37/ into a considerable number of tiny kingdoms and small independent principalities. The lands inhabited for the longest time seem to have been the Ndorwa, Buganza, Gissaka, and Bugessera in the northeast, the Nduga and Munyambiriri in the center, and the Bwana-Mkali in the southeast. The areas located in the northwest, the Mulera, Bugoyi, Bgisha, Kanage, etc., were slowly won over the forest and settled by people who came from neighboring regions.

642 Politically, Ruanda is an absolute monarchy.

The Banyarwanda belong to the type of society that is "more stratified, characterized by the establishment of a centralized power whose automatically binding warrants are transmitted to the humblest

[i.e., the Batwa. - Analyst]

423 are least fortunate or most enterprising get together to sell or exchange
[311] their plots and go to the edge of the forest to buy a piece of land or to develop the one they owned there.

From then on, the clan to which they belong includes an additional village.

As in Europe the sale and lease of fields and banana groves is made in the presence of witnesses. Land boundaries are marked with stones and other conventional signs.

A felled tree, a displaced stone, some ground which has been broken in a neighbor's field over the dividing line, such things cause frequent litigations that give rise to disunity within families and among tribes over long periods of time.

361 The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ remains attached to his native village, to his plot of land. He does not feel the need to move elsewhere, to change his domicile, as do the Blacks settled east and west of Tanganyika.

[134] Ruanda soil is richer by far and sustains numerous and varied crops.

245 In addition to the banana grove, which is the most important part of his property, the Munyarwanda has begun to plant trees and to cultivate coffee, which brings in large profits to which he was not
[231] accustomed. Ownership of a small herd of cattle or sheep makes his home even dearer to him.

593 It may be said that his home life is more stable than in neighboring areas, and that he leaves it only rarely (1).

[166]

1. The Blacks, too, are familiar with nostalgia and home sickness. The fear of a vendetta or the attraction of large salaries may temporarily induce the natives to expatriate themselves. Sooner or later, however, they return to the cradle of their ancestors. The Banyarwanda cite characteristic instances of this.

563 always an understanding, and they often live side by side. In spite of all their prejudices, they [133] are obliged to stick together in order to assert themselves against the farmers who are a large majority in the country.

361 624 There are far fewer Batwa than Batutsi. The extensive nature of their livelihood makes a concentrated Batwa population impossible. Larger, purely Batwa settlements are to be found only in the primeval forest and in Nyanza near Musinga. Otherwise the Batwa are widely scattered amidst the Bahutu population.

I am acquainted with the following Batwa groups:

1. Batwa under Kahima of Kazu. Kahima is the subordinate of the Muhutu, Chuma, who lives three hours south of Nyundo. Together with his petty subchief, Sebuleza, he has under him up to 150 Batwa, including women and children.

2. Batwa under Ngunzu. Ngunzu is subordinate to the Muhutu chief, Mutubula. His village is situated on a mountain near Kahama and can be seen from the third forest clearing on the way from Ruasa to Kisenyi. This group is said to be at least as strong as the other, even though one can see only seven huts from the road.

3. Batwa under Lukara are settled on the pass between Muhawura and Mgahinga. They are probably not much fewer in number. From Lukara's kraal we could see only two or three Batwa huts, and Lukara brought me only a dozen adults to be measured, but the fact that they had to be driven out of Belgian territory by military force shows that there must be a larger number. Mgahinga owes the name "Kirunga ya Batwa" to them.

4. Batwa of Mikeno. Dr. Kandt (1) visited this group. He

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1894), pp. 300, 301, 304.

mentions two groups of huts. The first has two huts; the second is four hours distant and contains six to eight huts. The latter are situated around a clearing. There are from 15 to 20 Batwa here,

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[113]

Dr. Kandt (2) mentions, however, that there are also Batwa

2. Kandt, R., "Bericht über meine Reisen und gesamte Tätigkeit in Deutsch-Ostafrika [Report on my Journeys and Entire Work in German East Africa]," Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1900 [Reports on the German Protectorates 1900], p. 246.

living in the forests of Sabinio.

In Ndorwa the following influential Batwa chiefs were mentioned.

5 and 6. Ngurube and Katulenge. Ngurube's Batwa are called Puniu. (3)

3. Parisch, F.R. Von "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 to 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

7. The Batwa on Idjwi Island were visited by Dr. J. Mildbraed and Dr. H. Schubotz and are supposed to be more similar to the Pygmies than the rest of the Batwa.

8. Batwa of southern Ruanda. There are large colonies of Batwa in the Rugege Forest and in the forests in the southwestern part of the province of Nduga. This [134] group is called Mashami or Machaba. Their forest belongs to the Njaruguru country which was formerly under the jurisdiction of Chief Kaizuka (1).

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

9. Batwa from Kabgaye. Apart from these larger groups, I met a colony of 20 to 25 who lived in the vicinity of the Kabgaye Mission (Marangara) and were potters.

10. Finally there are Batwa in Nyanza who live there in order to serve the king. From time to time they are relieved by fellow tribesmen.

411 underside is an ornamented oval piece of wood that also serves as the handle."

Near Lake Luhondo on the border of Ndorwa I once saw a very primitive shield. It consisted of a piece of thick tree bark, in the center of which was attached a handle consisting of two bound, crossed twigs.

[285]

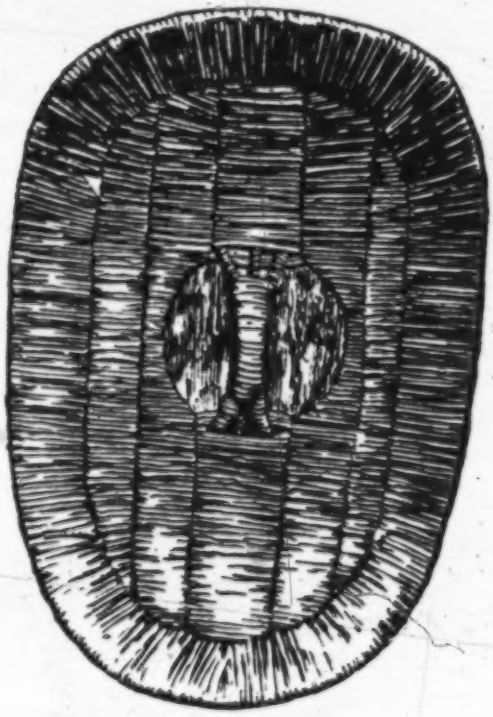

Fig. 125b. Shield from East Mulera, Inner Side.

The shield plays an important part in ritual.

Chapter 9

Settlements and the Household

361 Settlements. There is considerable difference in the types of settlements to be found in individual parts of Ruanda. The typical form of settlement is the compound in which the

[36] independent man lives with his women, children, and servants [558] (bagaragu). The establishments of the well-to-do are quite large and often embrace a dozen or more huts. Poor people have only one or two huts. The large settlements of the Batutsi, with the exception of those in the northwestern provinces, are all widely scattered in the grasslands and are conspicuous by the tall euphorbia hedges and trees which surround them.

In eastern Mpororo scattered huts occur only in the cultivated areas; they occur somewhat more frequently near large Bahima kraals, as, for example, that of Kitaraya. South of Kitaraya, Batutsi settlements hidden behind their euphorbia hedges predominate. On Lake Mohasi the scattered Bahutu settlements and their banana groves again appear. Here Batutsi kraals are rarer.

In Kissaka and Nduga there are Bahutu settlements on the edges of the banana groves, but since bananas are confined to specific regions because of soil conditions, a certain concentration of settlements has come about.

[31] Around Nyanza, the residence of Musinga [king of Ruanda], we find few and widely scattered settlements, because the land is reserved as pasture for the king's cows.

In Mulera where the entire country is under cultivation, there is again a regular distribution of farm settlements. However, we also note a tendency for relatives to move closer together for safety.

In Bugoye, which shows influences of the Forest Bantu, we find many compact groups of huts almost resembling villages, although these settlements vary a great deal in their structure. Here the [65] hill dwellers, from whom their mugabo [clan elder] collects taxes which he hands over to the proper mutware (ku butaka, ku muheto, etc.), have all joined together in a single settlement. [200] In Bugoye we find settlements of over 100 inhabitants. The largest settlements are in Bgisha, north of the chain of volcanoes. They sometimes have over 100 huts.

The Banyabungu also live in large villages which are very well kept and have high fences. (1)

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 377.

644 the following high chiefs were mentioned:

1. Nshohozamigo (Luhanga is his mugaragu in Mulera);
2. Kanuma from Kissaka;
3. Niamutezi from Kissaka;
4. Lutangabo from Kissaka;
5. Rwamanwa from Niaruguru;
6. Rudegambia;
7. Kabare from Bugessera, Nduga, Kifumbiro, Bugansa, Kissaka, etc.;
8. Lukara lwa Bishingwe (Muhutu) from Mulera;
9. Ndazihiwe (Muhutu);
10. Ishirangabo;
11. Runiga (Muhutu of the Bahenyi clan);
12. Bushakwe (Lwakadygi is his mugaragu in Bugoye);
13. Niamuhanga from Bgisha;
14. Lwabilinda from Mukinjaga, brother of Lwabugiri Kigeri;
15. Ruenankiko from Bulembo south of Mount Ndisa;
16. Nigensi from Mukinjaga.

644 361 These clients live in the huts that surround the large kraal of the king. Their "villas" (bilaro) looked to me like an encampment that had been set up a few days before, probably because they may not have trees planted around them, as is customary, because this might detract from the beauty of the trees surrounding the royal kraal. The only ornamentations in the entire vicinity were the trees of an old abandoned settlement on a neighboring hill.

644 The bagaragu of the king do not have any definitely appointed periods of service at court, as do the musicians, for example. Their periods of uninterrupted sojourn fluctuate between weeks and years. If you ask a high chief when he expects to go home, you always get the same answer: "When the king permits it." Besides 644 66 the favored, it is especially the feared who are kept at court for a long time so that, removed from their own people and surrounded by a lot of envious, covetous rivals, they become innocuous. If they are absent too long, they gradually lose all contact with their followers. Time and distance have their effect, here as everywhere. For example, a rebellious chief from Mukinjaga was retained at court for the length of time it would take him to fill a

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

and Tutsi compounds. Only the size and number of huts and enclosures were different.[24]

These compounds, usually surrounded and more or less hidden by banana groves, were scattered throughout the country. They were on the top or on the slopes of hills, never in the valleys which were flooded every year at the end of the rainy season. They were usually rather isolated but even when they were not far from each other (and they were never so near together as to have two adjacent hedges) they did not constitute villages in the sense of concentrated clusters of dwellings situated near the centre of the territory worked by the inhabitants. There was, however, some grouping on a predominantly local basis of people who were all personally acquainted with each other. They could be described, following Murdock's terminology, as *neighbourhoods*.[25] These neighbourhoods were made up of a certain number of compounds (from twenty to sixty) situated on a hill (*umusozi*) or a part of a hill (*umurenge*). The people living there had a few common activities: mutual aid in the building of huts and in the performance of certain agricultural tasks, and recreational gatherings (such as dancing, jumping competitions, arrow shooting, &c.). They showed a certain *esprit de corps* in taking the side of one of their members in a dispute against a member of another similar community. The word used to designate the members of such groups expressed this idea of neighbourhood. They were called *abazimya muriro*, 'those who put out the fire', people very often needed. One important person in the group such as a lineage-head, was appointed as neighbourhood-head (*umukoresha*) by the traditional administrative authority to take charge of the collection of dues and tribute-labour of a hill or, more frequently, of a group of hills (*umutware w'umosozi*). He acted as an intermediary between his neighbours and the hill chief. The group could refuse the appointment of a certain person and another would be chosen. These neighbourhoods had no communal place for meeting, exchanging goods, or worshipping.

The same pattern of local grouping was to be found throughout Ruanda.

[24] Cf. Czekanowski, 117, p. 200 ff; Pauwels, 1953; Vincent, 1954, pp. 12-15.

[25] Murdock, 1949, p. 80. The definition of village given in Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 64. ('a territorially separate collection of homesteads, which is regarded as a distinct unit and of such a size that its inhabitants can all be personally acquainted') cannot be applied to the Ruanda type of local community.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Ruanda. The exception was the place where the royal court happened to be established. At the end of the nineteenth century the most permanent site was Nyanza, which was and still is regarded as the capital. One or two thousand people lived there, but Nyanza was not a village or a town. It was rather the great homestead of the king surrounded by the small temporary dwellings occupied by the different chiefs when they came to the court to pay a more or less long and obligatory visit to their sovereign. The king had other residences throughout the country where he stayed regularly.

Markets do not appear to have been numerous in Ruanda before the European occupation. Goods were exchanged mainly through other channels; the tribute of subject, dues of clients, gifts from the lords, &c. At all events the few markets where goods from abroad, such as rock-salt coming from the Lake Edward region, were exchanged, did not become centres of villages as in many other parts of Africa.

5. HEALTH

The general health of a people is as significant a part of the background of their culture and social institutions as are physical environment or demography. We can only conjecture about the situation before Europeans came, but there is some evidence.

The health of a group of people depends partly on their diet. The present day diet is lacking in animal proteins, vegetable fats (containing vitamins A, D, and E), and green vegetables.[28] We have no reason to believe that there was a higher consumption of meat fifty years ago, or that there were oleaginous plants growing which have disappeared and that the habit of eating green vegetables has been lost. According to nutritionists, these shortcomings cannot be compensated by a consumption, however abundant, of carbohydrates, a high percentage of which is to be found in maize, sorghum, peas, and beans. Also, if a fairly adequate consumption of the latter foodstuffs is possible now (in the sense that the total annual yield for the country is sufficient for the total number of people), it is not to be assumed that the total production was as high fifty years ago as it is now. On the contrary, the figures we have indicate that fifty years ago, the production of maize, sorghum, peas, and beans was much lower than today.

[28] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 56; Close, 1955.